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By- Ramirez, Manuel III

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Summary information of several research projects is presented to show that underprivileged children are not prepared to cope with intellectual and social demands of the school. Results of several value scales administered to both Mexican American and Anglo junior high, senior high, and college students indicate that Mexican American students agree with authoritarian ideology to a significantly higher degree than do Anglo students. This is attributed to rearing in a family atmosphere emphasizing father domination, strict child rearing practices, submission and obedience to the will of authority figures, strict separation of sex roles, and relationships based on dominance and submission. Evidence indicates that Mexican Americans express attitudes toward education that are significantly more unfavorable than those of Anglos. Moreover, value orientations developed in the homes of Mexican Americans are contradicted by the value system of the schools. The study concludes that Mexican Americans' adjustment to school is being hindered by their avoidance reaction to school tasks and school personnel. Preparation programs designed to introduce teachers to practical uses of anthropological methods are seen as a beneficial factor toward increasing teacher sensitivity to Mexican American problems. (DA)

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NEW MEXICO STATE UNIVERSITY

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by

MANUEL RAMIREZ, III

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OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Potential Contributions by the Behavioral Sciences to Effective Preparation Programs for Teachers of Mexican-American Children

Manuel Ramirez, III*
Rice University

The thesis of this paper is that the most valuable contributions which the behavioral sciences can make to the development of effective preparation programs are research findings which have identified the value orientation of the Mexican-American culture. More specifically, the most important data is that which relates elements of the value orientation to preceptions, needs, behaviors, and beliefs of Mexican-American students which clash with the value system of the schools. A familiarity with this information will make it possible for teachers and school administrators to identify and remove those barriers which are presently hindering the performance of these students. This approach is by no means new. Several investigators (Deutsch, 1964; Landes, 1965; and also Madsen, 1965) have observed that underpriviledged children are not prepared to cope with the intellectual and social demands of the school, as it is presently constituted. Furthermore, they have noted that what these children learn in school frequently comes into conflict with that which they have learned from their parents, thus creating severe personality problems and inadequate intellectual performance. Referring to the disadvantaged child in general Deutsch states:

> We know that children from underprivileged environments tend to come to school with a qualitatively different preparation for the demands of both the learning process and the behavioral requirements of the classroom. . . The culture of their environment is a different one from the culture that has molded the school and its educational techniques and theories. . . We know that it is difficult for all peoples to span cultural discontinuities, and yet we make little if any effort to prepare administrative personnel or teachers and guidance staff to assist the child in his transition from one cultural context to another. (Deutsch, 1964, p. 172).

Making specific reference to the case of the Mexican-American child, Madsen notes:

> For the Latin child from a lower-class family school is often a bewildering and hostile environment. He hears the teaching of his parents contradicted and he is urged to behave in ways that are uncomfortable for him. . . The push to excel and compete for grades violates the noncompetitive values of La Raza. A Mexican-American student who conspiciously outshines his age-mates in academic endeavors is mocked or shunned. . . Differences in outlook and behavior tend to socially segregate the Mexican-Americans from the Anglo students although they attend integrated classes. (Madsen, 1965, p. 107).

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*Psychology Department, Rice University, Houston, Texas 77001

Regarding the effect of culture conflict on academic performance, Landes states:

> The anthropologist believes that adults teach and pupils learn in keeping with the habits absorbed from their cultural backgrounds. Hence, apparently stupid behavior may actually reflect irreconcilable culture differences felt by the 'stupid' person whereas success may testify to cultural harmony between a person and his environment. (Landes, 1965, p. 18)

The results of a study by Demos (1962) seemed to provide some support for the hypothesis that membership in the Mexican-American culture is related to certain unfavorable attitudes toward education expressed by Mexican-American students. The investigator selected 105 Mexican-American (M-A) and 105 Anglo-American (A-A) junior and high school students who were matched on age, grade, sex, social class, and intelligence. These students were given an attitudes toward education scale which contained twenty-nine different issues dealing with school and school personnel. The results indicated that the M-A students had expressed attitudes which were more unfavorable than those of the A-As. Furthermore, there were several issues on which students of the two cultural groups expressed divergent opinions. These attitudinal differences appeared to be related to the different value orientations of the two cultures. Specifically, M-A students expressed attitudes which were significantly more unfavorable than those of A-A students on the following issues: (1) importance of an elementary education; (2) staff concern about students; (3) desirability of dropping out of school; (4) desirability of belonging to a gang; and (5) importance of regular attendance.

Although the foregoing study provides a link between cultural membership and perception of the school, it leaves a number of questions unanswered. Which values differentiate between M-A and A-A students? Which of these are related to needs, perceptions, and behaviors which affect performance in school? Finally, which of these characteristics of the M-A culture clash with the value orientation of the schools? The studies reviewed below were designed to provide some answers to these questions.

Mexican-American Values

The initial study (Ramirez, 1967) in the series to be reviewed here was concerned with three aspects: (1) the extent to which M-As are identified with family values which had been isolated in Mexican and Mexican-American anthropological research; (2) the extent to which M-As agreed with an authoritarian ideology; and (3) the relation between identification with Mexican and M-A family values and agreement with an authoritarian ideology. It was predicted that M-As would express more agreement than A-As with an attitude scale reflecting Mexican and M-A values. In addition, it was also predicted that since the M-A family structure resembled that of the high authoritarian family described by Adorno and his colleagues (1950), M-As would score higher on the F (Authoritarianism) Scale than A-As. Finally, a significant positive correlation between the two scales was expected in the data of the M-As. The subjects were 70 M-A (third generation) and 70 A-A (not belonging to any identifiable cultural or racial minority group) ranging in age from 18 to 24. All of the subjects were

middle-class, Catholic college students. There were equal numbers of males and females within each of the cultural groups. The items of the family attitude scale employed were selected to represent the Mexican and Mexican-American family values which had been identified by Diaz Guerrero (1955), Gillin (1947), Lewis (1959), Madsen (1964), also Saunders (1954). Some of the items were selected from a scale which had been employed by Diaz Guerrero (1955) in a previous study. Others were taken from the Traditional Family Ideology Scale (Levinson & Huffman, 1955) and the Parent Attitude Research Instrument (Schaefer & Bell, 1958). The remainder of the items were constructed by the author. Subjects were asked to respond to each item on a seven point scale from agree very much to disagree very much.

The results showed that M-As had made significantly higher scores on both the family attitude scale and the F Scale ($t_{FAS} = 5.13$ $p<.005$, $t_{FS} = 6.35$ $p<.005$). In addition, the data of the M-As showed a significant positive correlation between the scores of both scales.

Means and discriminatory powers (D.P.) of some of the items which succeeded in differentiating between M-As and A-As are listed below:

Family Attitude Scale

Item	Means M-A	Means A-A	D.P.
The stricter the parents the better the child.	6.8	3.5	3.3
For a child the mother should be the dearest person in existence.	5.5	3.0	2.5
It helps a child in the long run if he is made to conform to his parents ideas.	5.4	3.0	2.4
More parents should teach their children to have unquestioning loyalty to them.	5.2	3.2	2.0
Some equality in marriage is a good thing but by and large the husband ought to have main say so in family matters.	5.8	4.2	1.6
It doesn't do any good to try and change the future, because the future is in the hands of God.	5.7	3.9	1.8

F Scale

Item	Means M-A	A-A	D.P.
There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.	5.8	3.4	2.4
Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.	6.0	3.8	2.2

The higher scores obtained by M-A students in the family attitude scale indicated that they were identified with the Mexican and M-A values isolated through anthropological research. Their higher scores on the F Scale indicated that rearing in a family atmosphere emphasizing father domination, strict child rearing practices, submission and obedience to the will and dictates of authority figures, strict separation of the sex roles, and interpersonal relationships based on dominance and submission had resulted in agreement with an authoritarian ideology.

Comparison of family attitude scale item means of M-As with those of Mexicans reported by Diaz Guerrero (1955) indicated that M-As had rejected the concepts of male superiority and separation of the sex roles. The results of acculturation were thus evidenced in a lessening of the fathers' traditional authority in the family and of the authority of the male in general. It was also noted, however, that M-A women had obtained the highest scores on both the F and family attitude scales. It appeared, then, that although the M-A female was achieving increasingly more freedom and equality, she still showed signs of strong adherence to conformity and submission to authority.

The next study to be reviewed was done in California. The sample consisted of 100 M-As (third generation) and 100 A-As of the middle class in a junior college and a state college in Sacramento. Since the previous study had been conducted in Texas and since the subjects had been of the same age and socioeconomic class as those of the present one, this provided an excellent opportunity for comparison of value orientations of M-As in the two states. In the California study the subjects were administered an attitude scale of M-A values which had been revised somewhat but which still contained many items which had been used in the previous study in Texas (see Appendix 1). The results showed that M-As had scored higher than A-As. The differences between the means of the cultural groups obtained were, however, considerably lower than those which had been obtained in Texas. M-A males also scored higher than females, indicating that in contrast to the Texas results females in this sample were less identified with the M-A values and were considerably more emancipated. This is not surprising since most of the Texas subjects had been reared in the Rio Grande Valley where there is close proximity to the Mexican border and M-As make up a large percentage of the total population. In this area there is more support and reinforcement given for identification with the culture. M-As in Sacramento, on the other hand, make up less than ten percent of the total population and they are a considerable distance from the Mexican border.

Items which discriminated best between M-As and A-As are listed below. It was noted that M-A females disagreed with those items reflecting the authority and superiority of males; thus, these items did not discriminate well between the M-A and A-A groups as they had in the Texas sample.

Item	Means M-A	Means A-A	D.P.
All adults should be respected.	5.5	4.1	1.4
More parents should teach children to be loyal to the family.	5.1	4.0	1.3
For a child the mother should be the dearest person in existence.	4.8	3.5	1.3
Fathers should always be respected.	5.5	4.2	1.3
Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say so in family matters.	4.52	3.52	1.0
Old people are wiser than young people.	4.7	3.8	0.9

The next study in this series compared the degree of identification with the M-A culture exhibited by M-A students of three different age groups. It was predicted that junior high students would be more identified with the M-A culture than high school students and that high school students, in turn, would exhibit more identification with the culture than college students. It was expected that two phenomena would account for increasing acculturation with age: (1) more acceptance of Anglo middle-class values as the students progressed in school and (2) a greater tendency for those who were more identified with the M-A culture to drop out before completion of junior high.

There were 400 subjects in the sample. Two hundred of these were M-As and two hundred were A-As. Half of the subjects in each of the cultural groups were junior high and half were high school students. In addition, there were equal numbers of males and females in each of the cultural groups. As predicted, the mean of the junior high group was significantly higher than that of the high school group ($t = 3.32$ $p<.01$). The mean of the high school sample was also significantly higher than that of the college sample ($t = 1.89$ $p<.05$).

Listed below, along with means for each of the age groups, are those items which differentiated well between M-As and A-As in all three age groups.

Item	J.H.	H.S.	C.
3. All adults should be respected.	5.94	6.10	5.50
4. More parents should teach their children to be loyal to the family.	5.35	5.00	5.10
12. Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the husband should have the main say so in family matters.	5.20	5.05	4.52
23. Women think less clearly than men and are more emotional.	5.19	4.50	4.40
25. The father should be the final authority in the family.	5.00	4.4	4.60

In general, M-A junior high subjects agreed with most of the items of the attitude scale, thus indicating their strong identity with the following characteristics of the culture: family loyalty, strictness of child rearing, submissiveness to parents, respect for age, male superiority, traditionalistic view of parental roles, inability to manipulate the future, present time orientation, and separation of the sex roles. Subjects of high school age demonstrated evidence of acculturation in the following areas: submissiveness to parents (items #20 & 24[1]); strictness of child rearing (#1 & 21); separation of sex roles (#16 & 22); and inability to manipulate the future (#14). Responses of college students showed evidence of acculturation in submissiveness to parents (#20, 24, 21 & 29), separation of the sex roles (#15, 16 & 22), present time orientation (#2 & 11), and rebelliousness as a passing phase of youth (#28). The data of college students indicated that acculturation had not affected the following areas: respect for age (#3 & 17) and traditional conception of parental roles (#9, 13 & 26). The greatest effects of Americanization were evidenced in the value orientation of college females. They overwhelmingly rejected items reflecting a present time orientation, male superiority, and the belief that rebelliousness is merely a passing phase of youth.

The final study in the M-A values series compared value orientations of M-A students of the middle and lower socioeconomic classes. The subjects were 200 M-A junior high and high school students in Sacramento, California. Half the subjects were of the middle socioeconomic class and half were of the lower socioeconomic class. Two criteria--education and employment of father--were used to classify students as to SES. Most of the fathers of the low SES subjects were agricultural or railroad laborers with a mean of 7 years of education; whereas, most of the fathers of the mid SES subjects were state employees with an average of 13 years of education. It was predicted that subjects of the low SES would obtain higher scores on the M-A values scale, i.e. would express more agreement with the M-A values than mid SES students. Specifically, it was expected that low SES students would show more agreement with items in the

[1]See attitude scale Appendix I.

submissiveness to parents, separation of sex roles, and present time orientation categories. Contrary to expectations, however, differences between the two groups on total scale scores were not significant ($t = 1.04$ $p > .05$). The following are items which differentiated best between the two groups.

Item	Means LSES	Means MSES	D.P.
Girls should not be allowed to play with boys' toys such as soldiers and footballs.	5.2	4.2	1.0
It is not good for a married woman to work outside the home.	5.1	4.2	0.9
More parents should teach their children to be loyal to the family.	6.0	4.7	1.3
It helps a child in the long run if he is made to conform to his parents ideas.	5.6	5.0	0.6
The word of an adult should never be questioned.	5.8	4.9	0.9

It is apparent, then, that expected differences between the two socioeconomic groups were obtained on the categories of submissiveness to parents and separation of the sex roles, but not on present time orientation.

Mexican-American Values and Attitudes Toward Education

The research reviewed above showed that there are differences in the value orientations of M-A and A-A students. How do these relate to differences in attitudes toward education in these two groups of students? Demos (1962), in a study reviewed above, had attributed the differences to M-A ethnic group membership, but did not specify details. A study by the author and a colleague (Ramirez and Taylor, 1967) sought to throw some light on this subject.

It was predicted that M-A junior high and high school students would express attitudes toward education which were more undesirable than those expressed by A-As. It was also predicted that the specific attitudinal differences between subjects of the two ethnic groups could be explained in terms of the differences in value orientations between their two cultures.

The subjects were 600 (300 M-A, 300 A-A) junior high and high school students of the lower socioeconomic class (as determined by residence patterns in the community). The study was conducted in two schools in Sacramento, California. All 600 subjects were administered an attitude scale comprised of 62 items. The scale assessed attitudes toward school and school personnel. Some of the items were drawn from the Demos D Scale (1965) while others were composed by the authors.

The results showed that, as predicted, M-As had expressed attitudes toward education which were significantly more unfavorable than those of A-As. A summary of the results of an item analysis performed on the data is given below:

TABLE 1

Attitude Scale Items Which Differentiated Significantly Between M-A and A-A Students.

Item No.		M-A % Agree	A-A % Agree	X^2
17	It is far more important for a man to get a good education, a woman can always raise a family and do housework.	58.8	45.0	9.8**
20	Teachers do not understand the problems of students.	75.4	59.8	13.8**
21	Even though a student speaks another language at home, he should not do it at school.	46.4	61.0	10.9**
26	One should not question the word of a teacher.	32.1	21.3	7.0**
27	Sometimes talking is not enough and you must use your fists to convince someone.	51.4	34.2	15.1**
29	It is good to mix only with people of your own kind.	22.6	13.3	6.8**
42	If anyone insults me because I am different I fight.	42.9	23.3	21.0**
45	It is hard to take orders from a woman.	41.4	33.3	2.9*
49	It is good for parents to put pressure on their children to get as much education as possible.	76.9	52.3	34.0**
61	It is more important to get a job as soon as it is available, even though you may not have a high school education.	25.0	15.4	6.7**

*P .10
**P .01

Greater agreement by M-As with items 17 and 45 is reflective of the belief in masculine superiority and separation of the sex roles evident in their culture. Agreement with items 26 and 49 is probably a consequence of the authoritarian nature of the M-A culture. Items 21 and 29 represent the M-A's loyalty to his ethnic group and item 61 reflects an acceptance of the present time orientation of the culture.

Agreement with item 20 coupled with agreement with item 29 indicates that interpersonal relationships between M-A students and teachers have been unsatisfactory and fraught with misunderstanding. Item 49, however, seems to offer some hope, since it would appear that M-A students are asking parents to give them permission to accept the educational system. This will become more evident in the results of the next study to be reviewed.

Mexican-American Cultural Membership and Needs, Perceptions and Interpersonal Relationships of Mexican-American Students

The research discussed thus far does not give any insight into the psychological dynamics of the M-A student. For this reason a study, which was actually the second phase of the attitudes toward education work discussed above, was designed to isolate motives, expectations, and unique perceptions of M-A students which were related to their culture and which in turn affected their performance in school.

The predictions made in this study were based on the following information which had been obtained by prior research (Clark, 1959; Madsen, 1964 and 1965; Ramirez, 1967 and 1969 (in press); and Rubel, 1966). Child rearing practices in the M-A culture do not emphasize independence training; this approach, along with the passivistic, collectivistic, and present time orientation of the culture, inhibits the development of competitiveness and achievement motivation in M-A children. Fear of envy, as well as fear of being accused of discarding the values of the folk culture for those of Anglo society, also discourages the M-A child's motivation to excel in school. The culture's emphasis on close ties to the family and suspiciousness of strangers results in a reluctance to establish close interpersonal relationships with school personnel and with peers who are not of M-A descent. Furthermore, the authoritarianism of the culture leads M-As to perceive interpersonal relationships as the attempt of one of the participants to control the others, thus causing them to misperceive the motives of others.

Certain characteristics of the sex roles in this culture were also considered likely to figure rather prominently in interpersonal relationships between students and school personnel. The M-A male like the Mexican male does not assume the full responsibilities of his role until adolescence. Throughout childhood he receives considerable succorance and support from his mother and other females in the family. Once he reaches adolescence, however, he is urged to make a complete break with the female set of values and to identify with the male set. At this time in his life he views any attempts on the part of females to control him as a threat to his **machismo**. He develops a fear of being dominated by females and responds with aggression whenever he feels threatened by them. The M-A females, on the other hand, are expected to live up to very demanding and restrictive role requirements and are given complete responsibility for

rearing children. As a result of the great demands which are made on them, they are likely to develop a fear of failure which may generalize to their school work. Some changes have occurred in the female role as a result of acculturation and are affecting the M-A female's behavior at school and at home. They are becoming increasingly more rebellious and competitive, rejecting the submissiveness and abnegation which was characteristic of their traditional roles. These changes have also affected the role of the male, lessening his authority in the family, and permitting females to compete for those areas of influence which are being abandoned by males.

The following predictions were made by the authors:

1. M-A students would score lower on need Achievement and need Affiliation and higher on n Rejection (Escape or Avoid) and n Power (Dominance) than A-A students.
2. M-A males would express more n Succorance from females, more n Aggression toward females who were domineering (e.g. who attempted to control males), and would relate more stories with themes of female control than A-A males.
3. M-A females would express more n Autonomy (rebelliousness) and more n Infavoidance (fear of failure), and would relate more stories with themes of power struggles than A-A females.
4. Those students in both ethnic groups whose attitudes toward education (as expressed on attitude scale administered in the first phase of the study) were more unfavorable would score higher on n Power and n Rejection and lower on n Achievement and n Affiliation than those who had expressed the more favorable attitudes.

The subjects were selected from the original sample of 600 which had participated in the attitudes toward education study discussed above. They were selected on the basis of their performance on the attitudes toward education scale as follows: 60 were selected from each ethnic group—of this number 20 had scored high on the attitude scale (e.g. had expressed unfavorable attitudes), 20 had achieved scores which were similar to the mean of their respective ethnic group, and 20 had obtained low scores (e.g. had expressed favorable attitudes toward education). There were equal numbers of males and females and junior high and high school students within each of the ethnic groups. A set of ten picture cards was administered to the subjects individually. The instructions given to the students were as follows: I have a number of cards with pictures on them. I will show you the cards one by one and I would like you to tell me a story to each one. Tell me what is happening in each picture. What led up to it? What is wanted? By whom? What will happen in the end?

Four sets of pictures were constructed, one for each of the sexes within the ethnic groups. The content of the pictures in each set was as follows: (1) student sitting at a desk; (2) two students, one M-A, one A-A, either playing basketball (male set) or standing outside a classroom (female set); (3) young female teacher and student; (4) young male teacher and student; (5) older female teacher and student; (6) older male teacher and student; (7) student at home with books in hand

and older male in background (father card); (8) student sitting at a desk at home with older female in background (mother card); (9) male and female students; and (10) young male with rake, and college campus in background.

The stories were scored for n Power, n Achievement, n Affiliation, and n Rejection by employing a scoring system suggested by Ricciuti and Clark (1957). In addition, stories given by male subjects were scored for n Succorance from females, for expressions of aggression against females who attempted to control males, and for female domination of males. Stories given by females were also scored for n Infavoidance, for n Autonomy, and for competition for positions of influence.

Results of analyses of variance performed on the n Power, n Achievement, n Rejection, and n Affiliation data are summarized in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Summary of Analysis of Variance of Need Affiliation, Need Power, Need Rejection, and Need Achievement Scores of Mexican-Americans and Anglo-Americans

Need Achievement

SOURCE	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic (E)	1	53.4	4.00	<.05
Within (Error)	96	13.2		

Need Rejection

SOURCE	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic (E)	1	172.8	16.8	<.005
Within (Error)	96	10.2		

Need Affiliation

SOURCE	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic (E)	1	.2	<1.0	
Within (Error)	96	15.5		

Need Power

SOURCE	df	MS	F	P
Ethnic (E)	1	119.9	4.02	<.05
Within (Error)	96	29.5		

The Fs for the ethnic group main effect were significant for the Power, Rejection, and Achievement data. Thus, in line with the predictions of the investigators, M-As scored higher on n Power and n Rejection and lower on n Achievement. They did not, however, score lower on n Affiliation. When another analysis was made comparing n Affiliation scores of M-A and A-A subjects on cards depicting teachers and peers versus those containing parental figures, significant differences were found ($t = 2.54$ $p < .05$) with M-As expressing less n Affiliation to the former type of card and more to the latter.

As predicted M-A males scored higher than A-A males on n Succorance from females ($\bar{X}_{M\text{-}A}$ = 1.8, $\bar{X}_{A\text{-}A}$ = .3, t = 4.75 $p < .001$) and on aggression toward females who were domineering ($\bar{X}_{M\text{-}A}$ = 1.03, $\bar{X}_{A\text{-}A}$ = .17, t = 4.30 $p < .001$). M-A males also had scored higher on the tendency to perceive females as domineering ($\bar{X}_{M\text{-}A}$ = 2.53, $\bar{X}_{A\text{-}A}$ = 1.86, t = .86 $p > .05$), but the difference between the two groups was not significant. M-A females expressed more n Autonomy ($\bar{X}_{M\text{-}A}$ = 2.93, $\bar{X}_{A\text{-}A}$ = 1.53, t = 3.9, $p < .01$) than A-A females, but the two groups did not differ significantly on n Infavoidance or on the power struggle variable.

Ramirez and Taylor (1967) concluded that the differences obtained between M-A and A-A students on the projective technique data reflected the differences in the value orientations and other characteristics of their respective ethnic groups. The higher scores obtained by M-As on n Power were interpreted as reflecting the authoritarianism of the culture and revealing that they tend to perceive interpersonal relationships as the attempt of one person to control the other. It was considered that this view of interpersonal relationships, along with the fact that M-A adolescents are sensitive to domination by others, is potentially conducive to maladjustment in the schools. The aggression toward domineering females expressed by M-A males and the rebelliousness against authority evidenced in the data of the M-A females, then, seemed to indicate that M-A students react negatively against control. M-A males were considered likely to come into conflict with school authorities for behaving aggressively toward females whom they perceived as attempting to dominate them, while M-A females would most likely get into trouble for rebelling against authority in general and refusing to obey the rules and regulations of the school. The content of the stories which were given by M-A students supported these conclusions.

The researchers were also of the opinion that the M-As' adjustment to school is being hindered further by their avoidance reaction to school tasks and school personnel as was evidenced by their high scores on n Rejection (e.g. content of the stories revealed a tendency on the part of M-As to reject teachers and Anglo peers who approached them). This tendency toward "ethnic isolationism" was further supported by agreement with certain items on the attitude scale of the previous study (e.g. "mix only with people of your own kind"), as well as lower n Affiliation scores to picture cards depicting teachers and students. This isolationism was believed to be a result of two features of the culture: (1) suspiciousness of strangers and (2) a belief that relationships with strangers pose a threat to the loyalty which the individual owes to his family and ethnic group. It was hypothesized that this fear is further reinforced by the actions of some school personnel who encourage the M-A to abandon his identification with the folk culture (Rubel, 1966). This perceived threat to family and cultural ties might also have accounted for the low scores obtained by M-As on n Achievement. Other features of the culture which may have interfered with the development of n Achievement are the culture's authoritarian child rearing practices, its emphasis on mother dependency, and its passivistic, collectivistic, and present time orientation. Previous research by Rosen (1959) had shown that children from cultures with the aforementioned characteristics had obtained lower n Achievement scores than children from cultures characterized by activistic, individualistic, and future time orientations.

Listed below are samples of stories given by M-A students. They have been categorized as to the particular aspect of the culture which they seemed to reflect.

1. **Loyalty to the family**

This boy and his father are very unhappy. The father just lost his job and he is worrying about what will happen to his family. The boy is sad also. He wants to continue in school because he is doing so well, but he knows he cannot abandon his family now that they need him most. He will drop out of school and get a job. He cannot turn his back from his family when they are in need.

2. **Loyalty to the ethnic group**

This boy is being scolded by the teacher for speaking a language that wasn't English on the school grounds. The boy doesn't know what to do. He doesn't want to make the teacher angry, but he also knows his friends are watching him and if he doesn't stand up for his rights and for his people they will call him a traitor. The teacher tells him not to do it again or she will send him to the principal. He continues to do it and is suspended for three days.

3. **Effects of acculturation on heterosexual relationships**

This is her boyfriend and they just left the coffee shop. It looks like they had a quarrel. Well, he wants her to marry him now and she wants to go to college and be a doctor. He got mad because he wants her to be his wife and mother of his children. She looks like she will continue with school and just break off with him.

4. **Criticism for acceptance of school goals**

Her name is Mary and that is her brother Gordon. Her brother is always playing around and calling her names. He is always bothering her because she doesn't like to go out, she is a bookworm. Her brother and his friends tease her. Nobody, no boys will look at her.

5. **Anglo values threaten father's influence with family and lead to interpersonal conflicts between parents and students as well as between parents**

a) This is the father and the girl is coming home from school. This is Martha and her dad is angry because when he comes home he wants to find his family at home and Martha always comes late from school and everytime her father asks her what happened she just goes and hides in her room. They never get a chance to be together. After a little while Martha comes out and says she knows she has been annoying her father lately and she will want to communicate more with her father and family. She wants her family to be happy. Her father says, "I've been trying to do this for years, but you have been forgetting I'm the boss of the house."

b) It's a girl. She's sad because her father is real strict to her. He won't let her be modern like the other girls and won't let her wear her hair high like the other girls. She talks to her counselor about this and the counselor writes her father a note to come to the school. Her father won't go talk to the counselor. The girl runs away from home.

c) These are husband and wife who just got into a fight over their child who is in high school. The girl's father doesn't like her going out on dates because he thinks she is too young and her mother thinks that it wouldn't hurt to let her go out for a few hours.

6. **Difficulty with the English language and interpersonal conflicts with teachers**

This is about a girl who is from a different country and she is in the class in English. The teacher is very mean to her. She tries her best to reply in English but she just can't. He keeps on scolding her and telling her to repeat. So she went to her girlfriend and told her and they both went to the principal and told him what was happening. The principal had a talk with the teacher and told him to take it easy and don't rush her.

7. **Unwillingness to seek help when in trouble**

This looks like a girl who is having trouble in school. So the teacher is trying to tell her that she should get an education because that is one of the important things that you should have in order to have a good future, but the girl said, "I don't understand. I have trouble with the language." So the teacher said "You should have told me and I would have helped you a long time ago."

8. **M-A's need for structure and control by authority figures**

Looks like a principal and a girl that doesn't cooperate right in the classroom. The principal is not happy she has been sent to her because she has been a good student in the other classes. The principal says she wants it stopped and for the student to try and make better grades in that class so she can pass that class just like the rest of the classes. The principal says she doesn't want this to happen again otherwise she will talk to her parents. The girl is scared now and will try to do better. She was goofing off because the teacher in that class was real easy. She lets the class do anything they want to do, so she got out of hand.

9. **M-A female's rebelliousness and power struggles with authority figures**

Looks like a nagging school teacher yelling at a pupil. She is yelling at her because of her grades, because they are not as high as the rest of her classmates. The girl does try and study but she just hates the teacher. She eventually does knuckle down and study. She makes a fool out of the teacher by studying hard and embarrassing the teacher in class to show her classmates she can study.

This latter story and the previous one point out a major contradiction in the Mexican-American's psychological makeup. That is an approach-avoidance conflict with respect to authoritarian control. Their experience in an authoritarian culture leads them to expect strict control by authority figures, but the peculiarities of their sex roles mentioned above leads them to view control as a threat to their well being. The male considers it a threat to his masculinity, the female a threat to her new found freedom.

10. **Culture conflict as the student views it**

He is a student. He probably has problems in his studies and he is trying to figure out a problem. He has problems in something else too, that he is trying to figure out.

Seems as if he is caged in trying to find a way to escape. He feels as if he is on trial. As though two different worlds are pushing him. In one sense society is trying to push him, in another it is trying to pull him back. It seems like society is too far advanced for him to figure it out.

Effective Preparation Programs for School Personnel

The research reviewed above shows that there are differences in the value orientations of M-A and A-A students of comparable ages and socio-economic classes. Furthermore, the unique value orientations of the M-A seem to have influenced their attitudes toward education, as well as their motives, perceptions, behaviors, and indeed their entire personality structure and dynamics. These results also show that these characteristics of the M-A students clash with the cultural values represented by school personnel, resulting in tension and unhappiness for the students. These research results, then, should be employed in preparation programs. Unfortunately, a review of the literature revealed only one report of a program which was based on the culture clash hypothesis. The Claremont Project in Anthropology and Education (Landes, 1965) was designed to train teachers in culture concepts and methods affecting public education. Dr. Ruth Landes, an anthropologist, directed the project at the Claremont Graduate School. For two years Dr. Landes presented data, theories, and skills of cultural anthropology to graduate classes of public school teachers, counselors, and administrators who were employed in schools having large enrollments of disadvantaged students. The purposes and characteristics of the training project are best described by Landes herself:

> The Claremont Project in Anthropology and Education was designed to approach educators' great difficulties with pupils, parents and communities of heterogenous social or ethnic natures and high mobility by showing some of the social and cultural aspects in the relationship of all parties and in the ability of pupils to learn at school. This meant showing educators what culture is, its particular manifestations in different traditions (whether the manifestations be different languages and religions or different modes of treating a mother), how one recognizes specific cultural factors influencing individual and group conduct, how families pass on their ancestral cultures, even when they seem assimilated to another, how a pupil might manifest his special heritage in the classroom, and how a teacher might unwittingly do the same. (Landes, 1965, p. 15)

The most unique, and in the author's opinion the most beneficial, aspect of the training program was the assignment of work projects designed to introduce teachers to practical uses of anthropological methods. These carried teachers into the homes and streets where pupils lived. Research procedures employed by students were direct observations of individuals and groups as well as interviews of the open ended type. The first project dealt with aspects of the fact that man "carries" the culture taught him and functions according to its directions. Through this work teachers became aware of the varied cultural forces acting in them and the effect these had on their pupils. They were also able to see these same forces operating in their pupils. This made them more

sensitive to conflicts which occur as a result of different expectations reinforced by culture. Another one of the projects concerned itself with the topic that man's behavior was learned from older generations and contemporaries. Still another assignment asked participants in the program to reconstruct the cultural ways of their own families in the three immediate generations of parents, children, and grandparents on both sides. The student was required to specify details about the family's home, education, work, marriages, obligations, crises, etc. At the same time students were trained to chart lines or channels of authority and responsibility in the family, and the direction of flow, as mirrored in pupil's opinions. This was done to find out who in each pupil's family made decisions, about what, when, where, how, and why; who punished, who rewarded, and in what forms, and under what circumstances; how the punished individual responded, to wh[illegible] authority was delegated, and under what conditions, and how the punished one responded. These findings were contrasted with the features of middle-class life. At the conclusion of their projects, students were asked to answer certain questions based on their findings in the field projects. Some of these were "How can a minority assimilate to and advance in American life and retain its traditions," "Must all cultural groups in America assimilate," "Should we impose middle-class standards on children of all backgrounds."

The Claremont Project is undoubtedly a step in the right direction with respect to development of good preparation programs. The idea of involving the participants by having them research problems arising from ethnic differences is in particular a significant contribution.

There is, however, need for more research by behavioral scientists which can provide material for preparation programs. It is the author's belief that future research efforts should be concentrated on person perception. It is the unique perceptions of both pupils and teachers, as conditioned by their respective cultural backgrounds, which in the end result will determine how they will relate to each other. The importance of these variables is reflected by stories given by M-A students to the picture cards in the Ramirez and Taylor study. These indicated that whenever M-A students experienced interpersonal relationships with teachers and school administrators who were concerned about them, their performance in school improved. Thus, when these students perceived their teachers as being interested in their welfare, they performed much better.

The results of a study by Rosenthal and Jacobsen (1967) support this finding. The investigators, at the beginning of the school year selected students at random from the student body of a school district in San Francisco and "labeled" them as being likely to improve. In reality, there was no basis in fact for their predictions. The names of the students identified as "spurters" were given to the teachers, and some months later they were evaluated. The results showed that the "spurters" had made more gains than students of a control group. One explanation which can be offered for these results is that when the "picture" which teachers had of their students became more favorable, this was in one way or another communicated to the student who then proceeded to respond more favorably to the demands of the school. For example, when the experimenters compared IQ scores of M-A children with teacher attitudes towards the "Mexican-ness" of their appearance, the results indicated that boys who looked "more Mexican" showed greater increases from their teachers' positive evaluations. Thus, this

shows that the teachers' pre-experimental expectations for these boys intellectual performance were lowest of all. It appears, then, that information on person perception as it relates to interpersonal relationships between students and school personnel and school personnel and parents of students is a necessary ingredient to any effective preparation program.

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APPENDIX I

FAMILY ATTITUDE SCALE

1. The stricter the parents the better the child.
2. It is all right to have a good time even when there is work to be done.
3. All adults should be respected.
4. More parents should teach their children to be loyal to the family.
5. Girls should not be allowed to play with boys' toys such as soldiers and footballs.
6. If a boy's family does not approve of his girlfriend he should not marry her.
7. Relatives are more important than friends.
*8. Women are just as intelligent as men.
9. For a child the mother should be the dearest person in existence.
10. Fathers should always be respected.
*11. It is more important to work and plan for the future than it is to enjoy life now.
12. Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say so in family matters.
13. It is more important to respect the father than to love him.
14. It doesn't do any good to try to change the future, because the future is in the hands of God.
*15. It is more important for a woman to obtain a college education than it is for her to learn how to take care of the house and raise a family.
16. Boys should not be allowed to play with girls' toys such as dolls and tea sets.
17. Old people are wiser than young people.
18. We must live for the present, who knows what tomorrow may bring.
19. If a girl's family does not approve of her boyfriend she should not marry him.
*20. A child should follow his conscience, if he believes his parents are wrong he need not obey them.
21. Children should never disappoint their parents.
22. It is not good for a married woman to work outside the home.
23. Women think less clearly then men and are more emotional.
24. It helps a child in the long run if he is made to conform to his parents ideas.
25. The father should be the final authority in the family.
26. For a child the mother should be the most loved person in existence.
27. The word of an adult should never be questioned.
28. Young people get rebellious ideas, but as they grow older and wiser they give them up.
29. A girl should not date a boy unless her parents approve of him.

*Reversed items.

Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools
New Mexico State University
Box 3AP
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88003

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